

MEETING.

A meeting of those students of the South Carolina College in favor of forming a Southern Rights Association, was held in the College Chapel, on Tuesday, March 6th, 1851. Mr. S. LUCAS, of Charleston, was called to the Chair. Mr. S. J. Townsend, of Marlborough, moved that a committee of fifteen be appointed to draft a Constitution, Address and Resolutions, to be reported and acted upon at the next meeting of the Association. The following gentlemen were then appointed on said Committee, viz:

S. J. TOWNSEND,	WILLIAM C. INGLIS,
R. G. HOWARD,	A. B. RHETT,
J. S. MCLURE,	J. H. MARSHALL,
R. S. HERIOT,	WILLIAM THOMAS,
JAMES C. CALHOUN,	L. F. YEOMANS,
E. S. KEITT,	J. F. CALHOUN,
W. C. CLIFTON,	W. A. RAMSAY.
H. LAURENS,	

Resolved, That when this meeting do adjourn, it meet at such time as the Committee shall think fit.

S. LUCAS, *Chairman*.

J. C. CALHOUN, *Secretary*.

March 8th, 1851.

A meeting of the Association was held in the College Chapel, pursuant to adjournment—Mr. S. LUCAS in the Chair.

Mr. S. J. Townsend, Chairman of Committee, reported a Preamble and Constitution, which were adopted, without a dissenting voice.

After the adoption of the Constitution, the following officers were elected for the ensuing year:

President—B. W. BALL.

Vice Presidents—A. H. Jackson, R. G. Howard, J. M. Brice.

Recording Secretary—James C. Calhoun.

Corresponding Secretaries—O. Hawes Marshall, E. S. Keitt.

Treasurer—J. F. Calhoun.

S. LUCAS, *Chairman*.

J. C. CALHOUN, *Secretary*.

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April 15th, 1851.

At an extra meeting of the Association, held in Chapel this day, the Address prepared by the Committee was read by their Chairman, Mr. S. J. Townsend, and unanimously adopted.

Mr. J. H. Marshall moved that we adopt the Resolutions of the Southern Rights Association of the University of Virginia, and that they be appended to the Address; which was unanimously adopted.

Mr. S. Lucas moved that four thousand copies of the proceedings, Preamble, Constitution and Address of this Association, be published in pamphlet form, which was also adopted.

B. W. BALL, *President*.

JAS. C. CALHOUN, *Recording Secretary*.

P R E A M B L E .

We, the undersigned, students of the South Carolina College, feeling deeply the insults that have been offered to the South, and knowing, as we do, that the spirit of the Constitution of these United States has been grossly violated, have associated ourselves for the purpose of forwarding, as far as we are able, the cause of Southern Rights. In view of this end, we have adopted the following

C O N S T I T U T I O N :

Art. I.—The name of this Association shall be the Southern Rights Association of the South Carolina College.

Art. II.—The officers of this Association shall be a President, three Vice-Presidents, a Recording and two Corresponding Secretaries, and a Treasurer, to be elected on the first Saturday after the first Monday in October.

Art. III.—The President, Vice-Presidents, Secretaries and Treasurer, shall constitute an Executive Committee, whose duty it shall be to consider all communications relating to the Association—to prepare, and lay before the Association, such reports and information as they deem important, and to call extra meetings whenever, in their opinion, it shall be necessary.

Art. IV.—The regular meetings of this Association shall be on the first Saturday after the first Monday in October, January and

April, and an annual meeting on the 8th of March, the anniversary of this Association.

Art. V.—No Article of this Constitution shall be changed, without the consent of two-thirds of the members present, at any regular meeting.

Art. VI.—Any student of this college can become a member of this Association by signing the Constitution.

OFFICERS.

President.—B. W. Ball, Laurens, So. Ca.

Vice-Presidents.—A. H. Jackson, Barbour, Ala. ; R. G. Howard, Marion, So. Ca. ; J. M. Brice, Fairfield, So. Ca.

Recording Secretary.—Jas. C. Calhoun, Abbeville, So. Ca.

Corresponding Secretaries.—O. Hawes Marshall, New Smyrna, Florida ; E. S. Keitt, Orangeburg, So. Ca.

Treasurer.—John F. Calhoun, Abbeville, So. Ca.

MEMBERS.

1. T. P. Alston	Georgetown, South Carolina,
2. J. B. Anderson	Sumter, “
3. M. G. Anderson,	Spartanburg, “
4. B. W. Ball,	Laurens, “
5. E. Barnwell,	Charleston, “
6. A. S. Barnwell,	Beaufort, “
7. R. H. Barnwell,	Beaufort, “
8. T. C. Bookter,]	Richland, “
9. R. W. Boyd,	Orangeburg, “
10. W. C. Buchanan,	Winnsboro, “
11. J. M. Brice,	Fairfield, “
12. A. B. Brumby,	Columbia, “
13. W. L. Calhoun,	Pickens, “
14. J. C. Calhoun,	Abbeville, “
15. J. F. Calhoun,	Abbeville, “
16. J. L. Chapman,	Princetown, Miss.
17. T. B. Clarkson,	Charleston, “
18. W. C. Clifton,	Kershaw, “
19. J. C. Coit,	Cheraw, “
20. L. Cuthbert,	Beaufort, “
21. D. B. DeSaussure,	Camden, “
22. R. DeTreville,	Beaufort, “
23. J. A. Dozier,	Edgefield, “
24. P. A. Eichleberger,	Lexington, “

LIST OF MEMBERS.

25. J. H. Evans,	Spartanburg, South Carolina.
26. J. A. Ferguson,	Laurens, "
27. P. Fitzsimmons,	Charleston, "
28. W. C. Freeman,	Richland, "
29. W. Freeman,	Glennville, Alabama.
30. W. H. Freat,	Richland, South Carolina.
31. J. J. Frierson,	Sumter, "
32. C. Fripp,	Beaufort, "
33. J. G. Gaillard,	Charleston, "
34. F. S. Gillespie,	Marlboro', "
35. S. J. Gillespie,	Marlboro', "
36. O. P. C. Gillespie,	Marlboro', "
37. T. H. Goetee,	Beaufort, "
38. J. J. Goodwyn,	Orangeburg, South Carolina.
39. I. W. Graham,	Williamsburg, "
40. P. E. Griffin,	Darlington, "
41. J. W. Hance,	Laurens, "
42. R. S. Heriot,	Georgetown, "
43. J. Hill,	Newberry, "
44. J. W. Holman,	Orangeburg, "
45. M. N. Holstein,	Edgefield, "
46. J. W. Hopkins,	Charleston, "
47. R. G. Howard,	Marion, "
48. W. C. Inglis,	Cheraw, "
49. W. W. Irby,	Marlboro', "
50. A. H. Jackson,	Barbour co., Alabama.
51. E. S. Keitt,	Orangeburg, South Carolina,
52. E. Kinder,	Williamsburg, "
53. Theodore Lang,	Camden, "
54. Henry Laurens,	Charleston, "
55. T. J. Lipscomb,	Edgefield, "
56. T. H. Lee,	Dallas Co., Alabama.
57. J. G. Leitner,	Fairfield, South Carolina.
58. R. D. Linton,	Darlington, "
59. J. Lowndes,	Charleston, "
60. S. Lucas,	Charleston, "
61. J. H. Marshall,	Abbeville, "
62. O. H. Marshall,	New Smyrna, Florida.
63. C. W. Mayrant,	Sumter, South Carolina.
64. J. McCutchen,	Williamsburg, "
65. J. McDowell,	Sumter, "
66. Joseph McKnight,	Williamsburg, "
67. M. C. McLemore,	Newberry, "

68. J. S. McLure,	Chester, South Carolina.
69. B. W. Means,	Fairfield, "
70. W. B. Metts,	Laurens, "
71. J. S. Moore,	Sumter, "
72. S. B. Noble,	Abbeville, "
73. W. T. Norris,	Spartanburg, "
74. E. W. Nowell,	Charleston, "
75. T. P. Oliver,	Orangeburg, "
76. C. O. O'Neill,	Richland, "
77. J. D. Palmer,	Fairfield, "
78. J. W. Perrin,	Abbeville, "
79. I. D. Porcher,	Charleston, "
80. W. B. Pringle,	Charleston, "
81. J. R. Pou,	Richland, South Carolina.
82. W. A. Ramsay,	Sumter, "
83. A. B. Rhett,	Charleston, "
84. E. Rhett,	Charleston, "
85. B. S. Rhett,	Charleston, "
86. J. G. Riley,	Barnwell, "
87. J. R. Riley,	Abbeville, "
88. C. Seabrook,	Edisto Island, "
89. J. Scarborough,	Columbia, "
90. W. C. Scott,	Richland, "
91. H. G. Sheridan,	Colleton, "
92. J. B. Steedman,	Charleston, "
93. J. S. Stoney,	Charleston, "
94. C. J. Stroman,	Orangeburg, "
95. W. R. Taylor,	Camden, "
96. W. Thomas,	Charleston, "
97. J. M. Timmons,	Darlington, "
98. S. J. Townsend,	Marlboro', "
99. H. Tucker,	Georgetown, "
100. J. T. Walsh,	Charleston, "
101. J. T. Weston,	Richland, "
102. J. H. Whitner,	Anderson, "
103. J. N. Whitner,	Anderson, "
104. N. C. Whetstone,	Orangeburg, "
105. R. L. Wier,	Laurens, "
106. R. J. Willingham,	Beaufort, "
107. T. Woodward,	Fairfield, "
108. L. F. Youmans,	Beaufort, "
109. B. F. Young,	Kershaw, "
110. W. E. Zimmerman,	Darlington, "

ADDRESS
OF THE
SOUTHERN RIGHTS ASSOCIATION,
OF THE
SOUTH CAROLINA COLLEGE,
TO THE
STUDENTS
IN THE
COLLEGES AND UNIVERSITIES, AND TO THE YOUNG
MEN, THROUGHOUT THE SOUTHERN STATES.

FRIENDS AND FELLOW-STUDENTS,—

We have been invited by the Southern Rights Association, organized by students in the University of Virginia, to form an association similar to their own, to protect the rights, liberties and institutions of the Southern States. We obey the invitation, not merely because we deem it wise and patriotic, in the present condition of the Southern States, but because the invitation itself comes to us from a source we have ever been accustomed to regard with the highest respect. Virginia has, in times past, led the counsels of the South. If she is to lead the South no more,—if she has become the counsellor of a base submission to wrongs she taught us to defy and resist as unendurable, we mourn her position; and, turning from the humiliating present, look to that past where she is all-glorious. By her wisdom and energy, the first brave struggle was made for the rights and liberties secured by the Constitution against the usurping despotism of Consolidation. She first blew the bugle of resistance to the alien and sedition laws. She first vindicated the rights of the States, by her masterly expositions in 1798 and 1799, and interposed her power to rescue them from the insolent federalism of those dark days. She gave us those great Revolutionary Presidents, under whose benign administration, liberty and prosperity went hand in hand together; and the love of the Union,

instead of inspiring that jealous watchfulness, which all experience declares necessary to check abuses in Governments, and to preserve liberty, grew up in the Southern mind to be a blind and unreasoning passion.

Looking, then, to the past, we bow with veneration to all counsels coming from Virginia. We obey the recommendations of the Southern Rights Association of her university, and extend to her students the right hand of fellowship—not nerveless, we trust—to redeem our plighted faith to them, or the lost equality and liberties of the South.

Young men of the South!—we are, indeed, fallen on evil days. That inevitable decay which awaits all nations, or that redemption which so seldom lifts up fallen liberty, is soon to be our destiny. We have not, like our fathers, “scented tyranny in the tainted gale.” Like them, we have not disdained to permit even the touch of its foul pollution. No petty tax of three-pence a pound on tea now arouses our resistance. Even threats of military coercion, to cement tyranny by blood—which brought from our fathers but one response, the stern grasp of the sword—seem to fall stirringless on the Southern heart. We have submitted so long to injustice and oppression, that neither submission burns with shame, nor insult fires with an intolerable sense of dishonour. How else shall we account for the long and passive endurance of the Southern States, to the oppression of the General Government? For the last thirty years, it has heaped upon us, an hundredfold increased in aggravation, the very oppression our fathers resisted and vanquished by a *seven years war*.

The people of South Carolina—the people of Virginia and of the other States, denied that it was consistent with self-government and liberty in taxation, that they should be taxed by any power beyond themselves. The claim of the British Parliament to tax them, in all cases whatsoever, was, in their view, if submitted to, establishing a tyranny over them. The mockery of a representation in Parliament, which was not strong enough to control or prevent any taxes Parliament might propose to lay on them, they disdainfully rejected. Self-taxation alone gave them the power to protect their property—alone gave them liberty in taxation; and, with this alone, would they be satisfied. And yet, what has been the nature of the taxes which every man in the Southern States opposed to the protective policy has been paying, by the laws of the General government, since he arrived at manhood? Neither he nor his representatives have assented to them. Our Representation in Congress, too feeble to protect us, has only served to give the semblance of con-

stitutionality to those *robber laws*, in the shape of protective tariffs, by which the South has been taxed for the benefit of the North—the Southern planter and farmer for the benefit of the Northern manufacturer. By this policy, millions of the property of the Southern people have been annually wrested from them, and transferred to the people of the North. Congress claims to be just as omnipotent over us, in the power of taxation, as the British Parliament; whilst, in the purposes for which we have been taxed, the British Parliament was far more just and liberal. It proposed to tax us only to assist in paying the debt which great Britain had incurred in defending us, as her colonies, against a common foe. But Congress taxes us, so far as the protective features of the tariff law are concerned, for no purpose in which we are beneficially interested. We are simply plundered for the benefit of others. We are taxed to enrich favored capitalists, engaged in manufactures, in a favored section of the Union. There, also, are expended four-fifths of the public revenue; there, also, a monopoly to the navigation interest has been obtained.

In the free States, too, the effort has been continually made to lavish the public domain, and to exhaust the treasury, on works of internal improvement. In fact, the whole Government, from its foundation, in all its pecuniary operations, has been perverted from its original design, of being a common and equal benefit to all sections of the Union, to build up and enrich the North at the expense of the South. The South has been re-colonized to all intents and purposes by the North. We have not taxed ourselves. We have not ruled ourselves. Both in the imposition and expenditure of taxes, we have been ruled by the North, contrary to the whole spirit of the Constitution, and every dictate of justice and liberty. Under the forms of free-government, we have been practically laboring under a most oppressive despotism.

Now, it appears to us necessary to understand this great feature of our condition, before we can account for the subsequent aggressions and insults, which have been heaped upon us. Submission to tariffs, which have all been protective in principle, has cast us down from our original position of equality and freedom with the people of the Northern States. It robbed us of that liberty in taxation, which the Revolution of 1776 aimed to secure. Is it at all surprising, that after submitting to be plundered in our income, the North should see no obstacle but its own will, to our being plundered of any other property we may possess? By our submission to the tariff laws, we practically surrendered to them the mastery of our property. Why then should they not take a portion of the capital

as well as the income? Why should they not take from us our property in our territories, or emancipate the slaves of the South? Abolition has thus sprung from the tariff, and our ignominious ejection from our territories, from the tariff and abolition. In our complicated condition of mortification, shame and infirmity, we can now see the fruits of our own base abandonment of our rights. We have raised up the fell spirit of abolition, and invited by our imbecility and cowardice, our expulsion from our territories.

Yet, shall we now submit, as we have done to the tariff, to the designs of Abolitionism in our expulsion from our territories? Is the spirit of freemen so utterly dead in the South, that no wrongs can awaken us to resistance? Never, in the history of nations, have any people pretending to liberty, submitted to outrages so great and dishonoring, as those which characterize that foul "budget" of lies and oppressions, called "the Compromise."

We won California and New Mexico. *We* of the South won them by our counsels, won them by our arms. *We* made the war by which they were acquired, and we sustained it in Congress and in the field to its triumphant and glorious consummation. Had the South not been in the Union, or had she not pressed on the Mexican war, who believes that the North could have entered on its perils, or have acquired these territories?

And now, their equals in the Confederacy, and more than their equals in our sacrifices to acquire them, *we* are to be thrust out from every foot of these magnificent domains. The mode in which this wrong has been accomplished, is of no moment to any but those who are content with the flimsiest subterfuges to hide their cowardice or treachery. Indirect fraud can no more reconcile a brave man to the desecration of his rights, than direct or open aggression. On the contrary, it may only deepen the indignation, which inspires the determination for redress. Congress indeed did not directly by law preclude the Southern slaveholder from settling with his slaves in California, but it did the same thing indirectly. Under an administration hostile to the rights of the South, California is made to apply to be admitted as a State into the Union, with a Constitution precluding slavery. Under the pretext, that the people have a right to rule themselves, a handful of emigrants from all climes and nations, inhabiting a small portion of this territory, large enough for six great States, undertake to exclude from it a portion of its common proprietors, the Southern people. Congress ratifies the fraud. Congress gives validity to the Constitution thus made for California, which had no validity before, and thus renders the Wilmot Proviso triumphant throughout her boundaries. The same policy of indi-

rection is carried out to exclude the South from Utah and New Mexico. They are not, like California, admitted as States into the Union; they are organized into Territories, and nothing is said precluding slavery, in the law ordaining territorial Governments. Lo! how the South has triumphed, say the mean apologists in the South of Northern cunning and rapacity. Triumphant and yet excluded! excluded by Mexican laws existing over these territories, before they became our property, and which they left unrepealed! Legislation by Congress to exclude us, is thus unnecessary, and for this cause alone does not prevail. An executive pledged to enforce these Mexican laws, for our exclusion, is left to accomplish this result, by the appointment of judicial and executive officers, who will carry out his policy. He has accordingly appointed such officers; and we stand excluded by all the power of the general Government, from entering these territories. This is the consummation of non intervention, which means only exactly such intervention as is deemed necessary to exclude the South from all participation in our acquisitions. We had thought that it was the great duty of all Governments to protect persons and property. For these ends alone Governments exist. A Government which does not protect property, is entitled to no support. It ought not to exist a day. Yet the Government of the United States has not only failed to protect the slave property of the South, in the territories belonging to them, in common with the other States in the Union, but has, by its positive legislation, robbed them of a portion of these territories themselves. Did not falsehood and oppression usually go to together, we might well be amused under such circumstances, at the brazen profligacy and audacity, which proclaims the Wilmot Proviso is dead, the South triumphant in her exclusion from California, Utah and New Mexico. It is impossible for sophistry or mendacity to disguise the truth. We have been despoiled. We have been insulted, dishonored and disgraced, stricken down from equality, and spurned from the enjoyment of our unquestionable rights. Turn it as we may, there lies that magnificent region of sun and gold, better fitted for our institutions than any spot on the habitable globe, open to the labor and occupation of every people, of every nation, but of that people who fought for and won it, and who are yet to pay two-thirds of the debt by which it was acquired. All actions are to be estimated by the motives which originated them. Even when they work injury in their operation, if innocent in intention, we drop the veil of charity, or extend the hand of forgiveness to the perpetrators. But, where a wrong is deliberately done, with the design not only of injuring, but of destroying, we can have no

other feelings towards the actors, than those of indignation, defiance and resistance. What is the openly avowed object of excluding from the territories, the slaveholders of the South?

If the North sought to exclude us from our territories, with the selfish design of appropriating them all for themselves, this would be base enough on their part, unendurable on ours. If their object in our exclusion was political power, by which they might govern us, and hold in their hands forever the mastery in the Confederacy, this would be more than freemen or sovereign States have ever borne. But the design of our exclusion is more foul and deadly than these. Not only selfishness, but hostility, pervades the policy of our excluders. Not merely to lift themselves to power, but to accomplish our destruction, is their aim. They bar the extension of slavery, and confine it territorially, that it may be destroyed. A Roman Emperor wished that the people of Rome had but one neck, that he might cut it off. Our affectionate brethren of the North aim at a policy, compared with which the Roman Emperor's was tender mercy. No sudden catastrophe of blood and murder will satisfy their pious longings for our welfare. By confining slavery to a restricted territory, they expect to annihilate it, by the slow process of starvation and want, forcing competition for bread, and rendering free, only to die. Servile insurrections and conflagrations are occasionally to fill up the slow details, to their consummation of final emancipation, ruin and horror. They know full well, that throughout the cotton region of the South, the white man can never labor. They know that we will never submit to live on a footing of equality with the negro race. The consequences of these things they clearly see; and in them discover the utter destruction of the South, as the crowning result of their policy. They may indeed, when we shall have submitted, and they shall have increased in arrogance and power, graciously extend to us Nero's policy of a speedy extinction, and spread over us at once the gladsome catastrophe of St. Domingo; but short or long in its process, ruin, and ruin utter, is their determined policy towards the Southern States.

Now, with such motives and designs governing our confederates, in excluding us from our territories, shall we submit to be excluded? Even if we could evade or baffle their policy with respect to our institutions, shall we continue an union with those who are our deadliest enemies? What is their policy but war—undisguised war—by hostile legislation first—to be followed up, if we dare to resist, by its usual instruments, the cannon and the sword. They openly proclaim that their will in Congress carries with it the duty of our passive obedience—that we have no right to resist it within the

Union, and no right to go out of the Union—and that it is their mastering prerogative, in or out of the Union, to coerce our obedience. What is such a government, but a despotism, bent on our destruction? And, if we submit to its policy, what are we but its slaves—its trembling slaves—conscious of the hating and hateful tyranny over us, but too cowardly to defy its power, or cast off its authority?

The Southern Rights Association of the University of Virginia, has shown in their address how vain have been the concessions of the South, to win forbearance or safety. Is not this the usual result in the nature of things? Is liberty ever a conceded boon from one people to another? Has it ever been gained but by force, or retained but by power? A people, prepared to surrender their self-government, will always find masters. A people who seek security and peace, by yielding their rights, will find that they only invite aggression, and, at the last, will be compelled either to submit to political servitude, or fight for their liberties, with broken, instead of free spirits to support their cause. Look at the progress of aggression on the subject of our territories.

We began by a precious specimen of noble self-sacrifice! Virginia gave to the free States, the whole North-west territory, making now six large States in the Union. Were the free States satisfied with this concession? Not at all. When Missouri, a part of the Louisiana purchase, applied to be admitted into the Union, they refused her admission, because slavery was not prohibited by her Constitution. They wanted the whole of the territory covered by the Louisiana purchase also. We compromised the matter, however, in the usual way, that is, we recognized our institutions to be infamous, and, on that account, consented to be excluded from all our territories lying north of 36 deg. 30 min. What next? We consented that we should be deprived, also, of more than half of the territory south of this line, by devoting it to Indian colonization. The North next took the whole Oregon territory, and, by law, specially excluded us from entering any part of it with our slaves. This was the state of things when we acquired California and New Mexico. Our concessions had converted aggressions into rights. The North had a right to the whole—we to none of the territories. We begged for a small part lying south of 36 deg. 30 min., and appealed to the faith of the Missouri Compromise to sustain our claim. We begged in vain. We were ejected from the whole of the acquired domains, with the avowed design of using them, by the multiplication of free States in the Union, and the restriction of slave territory, for the entire overthrow of the institution of slavery

itself. What does this narrative prove? That there is neither peace nor security in submission ; and that we must resist now, and resist forever, the last ignominious wrong, or be the victim of its nefarious policy. We must resist speedily. The South, we fear, is rapidly becoming as provincial in spirit as she is in political condition. Mark the different manner in which the two sections of the Union have received what has been called (we suppose facetiously) "the compromise." The South, although wronged in every particular of its measures, (the Fugitive Slave Act not excepted) succumbs. The brave words recorded in anticipation of wrongs meditated against her, are left unredeemed, when more than these wrongs have been inflicted on her. She submits, and there are found those within her bosom who not only glory in their submission, but, whilst quailing before the General Government, are not ashamed to put forth dastardly threats against such as refuse to follow their example and likewise submit. How different the spirit with which the North received the compromise ! The tardy attempt to fulfil, by the legislation of Congress, that faith which, by the Constitution, bound them as States to deliver up our fugitive slaves, is resented as a wrong. They, practically, render it of no value to the South. Aiding, concealing and running off our fugitive slaves, or by all the arts of chicanery baffling the master in the courts of justice, they make the recovery of the slave worthless, by multiplied expenses. Their Legislatures denounce the law, and elect senators pledged to repeal it. Nor is this all. Flushed with conscious power, they seem reckless in its exercise. They urge in Congress a protective tariff bill, still more to plunder and weaken the South, and a large River and Harbor Bill, the better to justify it, by exhausting the Treasury. If there was any respect or fear entertained for the South, policy would dictate forbearance—a little forbearance, for a little while, until the irritation which might be supposed to exist in the public mind in the South should be allayed. But all proprieties seem to be despised in the present state of things. Northern arrogance and recklessness seem to be as boundless as Southern submission. The spirit of the South sinks, as the spirit of the North rises, at the wrongs they inflict upon us. May not this strange antagonism betoken some mighty change? Shall the depression go on without any rebound? Is there not a point of oppression at which any people will fight? Or are we of the South a base and degraded exception to our common nature? Hungary resisted the consolidation measures of Austria—measures, in their bearing on the Government, precisely similar to those under which we labor. Are we lower in the scale of intelligence and manhood than the serfs of

Hungary? Shall we not arise, at last, and, with one strong and mighty effort, break the spell which seems to have settled, like a dark incubus, on the spirit of the South, and again be honored and be free?

Young men of the South! on you the South calls. On you she leans for redemption. All revolutions, although not originating with them, have been upheld and wrought out by the youth of a country. Old age is generally timid. It fears change. It seeks repose. It can win but little from the future, and is therefore intent on securing the present. Manhood in its prime is most wise, but wary and prudent. It dares to act, but act on calculation. Its patriotism is very largely a thing of loss or gain. But with youth dwells enthusiasm. With youth is hope, and courage, which dares, and loves to dare, all things; and principles are holy realities, which stand forth for its adoring guidance, like that star, which the sages of the east worshipped and followed. Come forth for the redemption and salvation of the South. With your youthful but powerful arms, lift up her prostrate honor, and enable her once more, standing erect, to look with proud and unblenching front, on her confederates in the Union. Write it upon your door-posts, engrave it on the palms of your hands, wear it on your frontlets, "Equality in the Union, or Independence out of it," and liberty at every hazard! To the coward, who tells you to wait for additional insults and aggressions, turn away with pity or with scorn. To the traitor who dares to insult your morals or intelligence, by telling you that the South labors under no indignities and wrongs, answer him, if you answer at all, by striking him to the earth. There he should lie and rot, a loathsome mass of falsehood and perfidy, unfit to wear that glorious light of life, which radiates the divinity within us. Villainy doubles its atrocity, when it shares the confidence, which alone belongs to virtue.

In treading the rugged path of duty, clouds and thick darkness may gather round us. But fear not; truth and justice, and the God of truth and justice, are with us; and ours, if we *will* it, shall be the deathless destiny, of winning back her lost honor and liberties for the South. Friends! we are too young to be slaves. The iron enters into our hearts, and they must break, or be *free*. Shall they not be free? By all the memories of the glorious past, when we bowed down in crouching humiliation to no superiors, by all the hopes of the future, rife with blessings for the brave, but peopled with hell-horrors for the base submissionists, shall we not be free? Shall the blood of our revolutionary martyrs and heroes, have been shed in vain for us? It cries aloud from the ground for our rebuke,

and comes to us as the sound of many but distant trumpets, marshalling to battle. *On* let us go. *On* where the rights and institutions of the South, and honor and victory and glory, call. If it is God's will that a portion of the people of the South should be offered up, a mighty holocaust to liberty, who so fit as ourselves, for the glorious sacrifice? *On*, then, fearing nothing, and caring for nothing, but the shame and ignominy of submission, the name and fame of cowards and slaves.

Young men of South Carolina! Circumstances not of our choosing, have placed our State in the van of the South. Unawed by threats, undeterred by the submission of others, she stands calm and intrepid, with her banner over her, and her proud motto blazing on its folds "*Animis opibusque parati.*" Do not your hearts swell with the burning resolution, to be with her in life or in death? Shall we not protect her, as we would our mothers? Shall we not stand by her, as we expect to support our brides, firm, devoted and true? *She* has never done you wrong. *She*, and she only, has given you all that makes life tolerable to freemen; and never has her kind hand weighed heavy on you with oppression. She among the first of the provinces in our revolution, threw off the British yoke, and declared herself a free, sovereign and independent State. Again she would redeem you from political bondage; and if again she must stand alone, in the vindication of liberty, so let it be. Who will shrink from this proud position of honor, through fear of perils? Who will not rather pant to meet them, and long for that glorious day, if our oppressors choose it, when face to face, and man to man, it shall be settled on the battle field, whether South Carolina is to continue to be a free and sovereign State, or an abject Province, and we the subjects of the abolition North, the slaves of our own slaves. God hasten the issue. God give us strength to conquer in her righteous cause, or to make her one vast cemetery, where shall be buried forever the chivalry of the South. Let her live free, or perish in a blaze of glory, whose light shall frighten tyrants in their power, and kindle the hearts of freemen to the latest generations.

RESOLUTIONS
OF THE
SOUTHERN RIGHTS ASSOCIATION
OF THE UNIVERSITY OF VIRGINIA.

Resolved 1st. That we have witnessed with deep regret and concern, the constant encroachments of the non-slaveholding States upon the rights, interests, and institutions of the South.

Resolved 2d. That as Southerners we are proud of our ancestry; that we love the Union of '89, of which at present there remains but "the shadow without the substance."

Resolved 3d. That compromises and remonstrances having failed to check the onward march of fanaticism, our only safety now seems to be in "State action," in support of which we pledge "our lives, our fortunes and our sacred honor."

Resolved 4th. That the young men of the South are earnestly requested by this Association, to come boldly forth and array themselves under the banner of "Justice and the Constitution."

Resolved 5th. That they are further requested to form similar Associations throughout the South, particularly at those institutions at which southern youths are educated; and that constant communications should be encouraged between such Associations.

Resolved 6th. That the Corresponding Secretaries are instructed to forward copies of the Address and Resolutions, to all Colleges patronised by southerners, and to editors of papers favorable to southern interests.